593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(\delta Bc \rightarrow \delta c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 593 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister. It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(\varphi Sc \rightarrow \varphi B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this is a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what kind of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

Pc → B/S

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Non-equivalence of Stepmother and Mother. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (itonaregedu). In symbolic notation:

Wc → c

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

MH → F

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

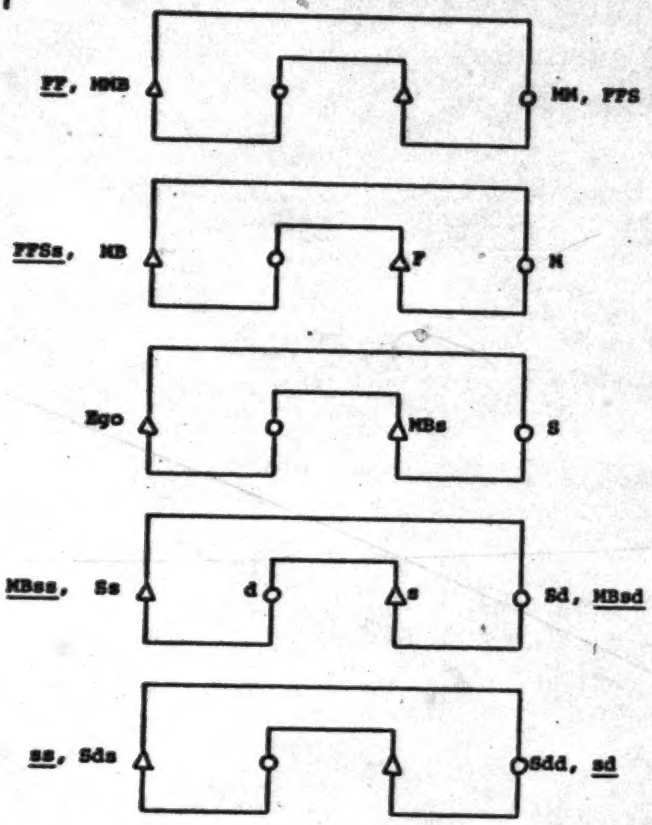
553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
● 604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table VII

553
604



553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equiv-
alences already presented:

FFSs → FFHs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
*601 the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[849] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*601 MMS → FFS (by the naming rule)
● 604 → FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

*601 7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-
[58] cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MB, and MMB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

in the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

in the imarugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS^{+})

in the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: ($♀S^{+}H$)

in the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS^{-})

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
604 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
• 604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(SpF| \rightarrow MB| \rightarrow FFSs|) \equiv (|dcSp \rightarrow |\sigma Sc \rightarrow |\sigma MBsc)$$

$$(SpM| \rightarrow FS|) \equiv (|\varphi cSp \rightarrow |\varphi Bc)$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
● 604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member 614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, 616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had 621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the 613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the